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ABSTRACT

The first part of a four-part analysis and assessment of Pakistan's system of primary education, this document presents summary conclusions and recommendations. Despite gains in primary school attendance and recent good economic performance, Pakistan's educational base remains so weak as to constitute a serious threat to continued economic growth. The problem lies mainly with the country's rural population, and although development planning and educational authorities have attempted for years to make primary education a priority within the educational system, the status of primary schools and literacy education has continued to worsen. This report argues that with or without external cooperation, Pakistan now needs to develop an integrated program composed of complementary projects that together will add up to solutions to its enrollment and literacy problems. The report summarizes recommendations for actions that such a program should carry out, including an illustrative program composed of a series of projects that, taken together would, it is believed, help significantly to meet Pakistan's needs. (DB)

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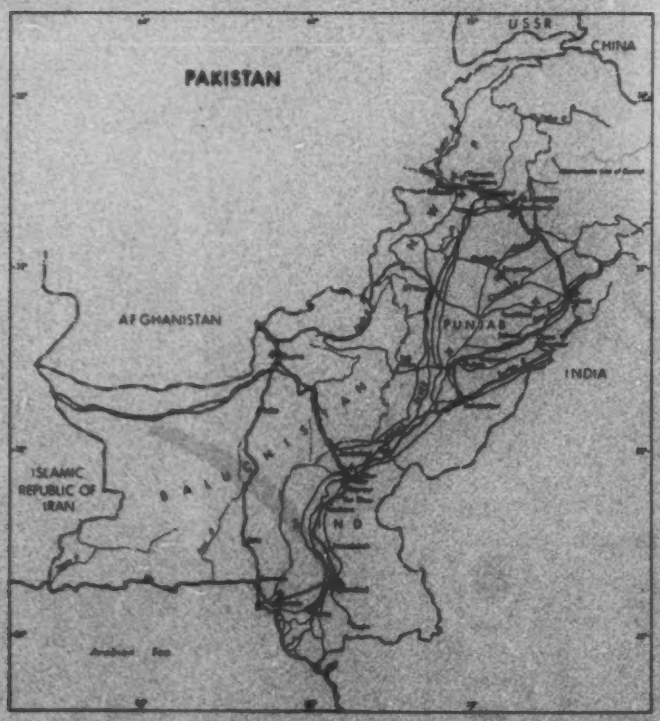

PART I

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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SO 021 132

PART I.

AN ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT OF PAKISTAN'S PRESENT PRIMARY EDUCATION SYSTEM WITH RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ITS FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

[Submitted in Four Parts]*

*Part I. Summary Conclusions and Recommendations
Part II. The Analysis
Part III. Case Studies of Schools in Pakistan
Part IV. Annexes to the Analysis

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July 1986

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The members of the Primary Education Assessment Team wish to express their thanks and acknowledge their indebtedness to the many who helped them understand Pakistan's problems and needs in primary education and thus made possible the report that follows. They hope that the report's usefulness may in some measure recompense them for the effort, time, patience, knowledge and wisdom they so freely extended to the Team. While the Team could not, in so short a time, have learned from their tutors more than a fraction of what these wise persons already know, they hope that as an external, independent and objective sounding board, their observations on what they have learned may be found to have some value as Pakistan proceeds now to speed up its investment in primary education.

The Team is particularly indebted to the Secretary, Ministry of Education, Mr. Saeed Qureshi, whose wise guidance and suggestions of the most fruitful avenues of inquiry have helped chart the course of the study from its beginnings; to Dr. Munir Ahmed, Educational Adviser, Planning Wing, Ministry of Education, who accompanied the Team to Lahore and Karachi, paving their way to the efficient collection of much information. He has been instrumental in opening doors in the federal establishment as well.

The Team wishes to extend its special thanks to Dr. G.A.K. Niazi, until recently, Deputy Educational Adviser, Planning Wing, and now Education Attache of the Pakistan Embassy in Washington, D.C. Dr. Niazi accompanied the Team on its initial round of visits to the provinces and, in general, helped the project through its earliest days. He was the real Team leader until his departure for the United States. The Team also wishes to indicate its appreciation for the warm response when it needed help of Dr. Khalid Hussein Bokhari, Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education.

Appreciation for immeasurably useful information and insights must be extended to all those provincial officers in all four provinces who gave so unstintingly of their time and knowledge. The Team wishes to recognize the assistance of the provincial Secretaries of Education, Planning and Development, Finance and Local Government and their staffs for their cooperation in data gathering, particularly to the Education Departments' Chief Planning Officers, the Provincial Directors of Schools, and the Education Advisers in the Provincial Planning and Development Departments. In Karachi, the Team was most fortunate to have had such warm and useful personal attention and assistance from the Sind Minister of Education, Mr. Akhtar Ali G. Kazi.

The Team perhaps learned most of all from the Division, District and Tehsil officers they met, both the education officers and the Deputy and Assistant Commissioners, plus the school principals and the teachers themselves. Divisional District Education Officers and Assistant Sub-Divisional Education Officers in all four provinces were especially helpful in providing a frame of reference for the Team's visits to schools and then facilitating these visits to schools where the realities that lie behind the theory and beyond the superstructure of primary education in Pakistan are to be found.

The Team owes a very special debt of gratitude to Dr. Jon Gant and to his staff, particularly Liaqat Ali Butt, Amna Wanchoo, and Masood Aijaz, of the Human Resources and Training Office of USAID, Pakistan. Dr. Gant clearly had worked long and hard, sometimes in the face of indifference, to bring this project about. His guidance to the Team was invaluable in helping it to avoid many pitfalls, to understand better the milieu; and he was the Team's link to the Government of Pakistan. He and his staff provided superb logistic support including making many sacrifices of their time, space and equipment in order to accommodate a Team of impatient academics, too accustomed to being indulged in their natural habitat.

Finally, the Team wishes to express their gratitude to, and warm sense of camaraderie with, their own great administrative staff, Mara Morgan and Lynda Hamid. They made it a Team of nine and were the crucial factor in the Team's being able to meet a rigorous time table and complete the report on time.

On June 17, 1986, a meeting was held between the Ministry of Education and the USAID Mission, including the Assessment Team. At this meeting, chaired by the Secretary of Education, the broad outline of the Report was approved with the Ministry requesting, however, an opportunity to make more detailed comments after the Team left Islamabad but before the completion of the final version of the Report. This agreed, the Ministry's comments were received on July 18 and the Team wishes to express its appreciation for them; both their generous tenor, and for the constructive suggestions made which constitute a substantial net contribution to the Report. The Ministry's comments are reflected in this final version in the appropriate Chapters dealing with the subjects involved. They will be found to be reflected particularly in Chapter VI of Part II and in what is now Chapter VII of Part II, A Suggested Illustrative Action Plan, to which most of the Ministry's comments are addressed. For these valuable contributions the Assessment Team is most appreciative.

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PART I

SUMMARY OF THE ASSESSMENT

A. OVERVIEW

Despite Pakistan's having increased primary school attendance since independence from 17% to over 40%[1] of the school-age population and despite good economic performance over the past 15 years, its educational base remains so weak as to constitute a serious threat to continued economic growth. Today's enrollment, though nine times greater than that of 1947, is not an adequate level, neither in terms of Pakistan's own needs for enough students prepared to enter upon vocational and higher professional studies, nor comparatively. Starting from similar bases some 35 years ago, Pakistan's Asian neighbors have achieved enrollment levels averaging from 70% to 90%. Pakistan's predicament is aggravated by its high drop-out rate, estimated to be 50% between Grades I and V, with most of that coming between Grades I and II. The result of the two factors together is that only one child of school-age out of five achieves literacy and completes primary school. This has, in turn, resulted in a low national literacy rate, estimated to be 24-26%. Whether the rate of providing new primary classrooms and enrolling new students is keeping up with population growth is not clear. The best evidence available is that it may be barely doing so. Thus, headway is probably not being made through the educational system in reducing the country's illiteracy rate. The literacy rate is the lowest in Asia and within the bottom quartile among all countries in the world.

In a recent report, the World Bank has summarized the consequences of such low enrollment and literacy rates as follows:

> "The unusually low educational attainments of Pakistan's rapidly growing population, particularly of the female population, will become a serious impediment to the country's long-term development.....The weak human resources base on which Pakistan's economic development is being built endangers its long-term growth prospects and negatively affects the distributional benefits to be derived from such growth."

Given the fact that Pakistan's population is over 70% rural, the problem is much more a rural than an urban one. In light of the country's traditional neglect of its rural population and the long-standing low priority of rural peoples in its development plans, it is not surprising that it is the rural areas that account for the greater share of low enrollments and low literacy. The literacy rate for rural women is 6%; that for men and women together, only 15%. Twenty percent of rural

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[1]Enrollment rate estimates vary from 48% to 40%. The latter figure is from the Federal Bureau of Statistics' Social Indicators of Pakistan, 1985, published in 1986. The enrollment rate may have since risen. In any case, the 40% rate may be regarded as conservative. Some higher estimates -- up to 48% -- appear to be due to inclusion in first grade statistics of pre-primary age children, ages 3 and 4, who flood many primary schools but do not study. The Federal Bureau of Statistics excludes these pre-school age children.

girls attend primary school; the figure for rural boys and girls together is 40%. Urban enrollment, in contrast, is some 70% and the urban literacy rate is 44%. This Assessment concludes that the country's urban primary education problems, while many, are by no means of the same dimension of seriousness as those of rural primary education. Thus, little attention beyond that generalization is paid to urban primary schools in this report, with one exception. This is to note the increasingly important role being played by private primary schools in the urban setting, and the importance of supporting that role for its value in meeting critical schooling needs and also because the high quality of education offered by many private schools serves as a model for the whole system. The Report further urges that strong efforts also be made to enlist the private sector in the drive to improve rural education.

There appear to be two main reasons why rural school attendance is so low. Only one is that there are not enough schools to reach all rural youth of school age. The other reason is the poor quality of the schools that exist and the poor teaching and learning conditions that exist therein. Many do not attend schools they could attend because they or their parents do not believe it would be useful. Many who drop out do so because they have found this to be true.

None of this is news to Pakistan's development planning and educational authorities. They have for some fifteen years attempted to gain for primary education a priority position within education and a higher priority role for education in the national development program. Under this policy universities and technical schools have prospered, but primary education expenditures in relation to school-age population have remained static. The Fifth and Sixth Plan documents accorded primary education top priority within the education sector and a new high priority for the sector as a whole. Yet the Fifth Plan period saw actual primary education expenditures fall to a new low. Today, with three-fifths of the Sixth Plan period all but completed, expenditures for primary education are running behind the planned figures -- so far behind in fact that the World Bank has suggested that for the Seventh Plan, (1988-93) instead of establishing new goals, the goals of the Sixth Plan should simply be repeated.

Pakistan's recently formed new civilian government has again re-stated the importance of primary and literacy education and has accorded them unprecedented new high priority. This priority is expected to be reflected in the Annual Budgets and Development Plans for 1986-87, now being prepared, and in the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

However, whether or not these new resolves to deal with the country's worsening rural primary school and literacy crises will bear fruit, or will suffer the fate of those before them, remains to be seen.

It is to be hoped that this time the promises made for strengthening the nation's educational base will prosper. If not, the continued neglect will but hasten a national development crisis far deeper than the crises in the name of which education has in the past been denied funds. Failure thus far to strengthen the nation's educational base threatens continued economic growth. As the economy grows, its demands for manpower trained at levels above the fifth and eighth grades also grow. The annual supply of fifth and eighth grade graduates ready to enter

upon technical and higher education remains static at best. Thus, while a fast growing economy's trained personnel needs multiply, the educational system's ability to meet them steadily erodes. The inevitable crunch can be avoided only by shoring up the national educational base, as Pakistan's highly competitive Asian neighbors have long since learned.

With or without external cooperation, Pakistan thus needs now to develop an integrated program composed of a series of complementary projects that together will add up to solutions to its enrollment and literacy problems. This report summarizes recommendations that such a program carry out, including an illustrative program composed of a series of projects that, taken together would, it is believed, help significantly to meet Pakistan's need to escape the spectre of its development program's withering because its root system has failed.

B. REVIEW OF THE ANALYSIS

1. The Purposes of the Analysis

In late February of this year, USAID/Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, requested that Development Associates, Inc., make an in-depth study and assessment of the adequacy of five key elements crucial to the effective functioning of the nation's system of primary education, with a view to making recommendations for improvement where indicated. These five key elements are:

a. policy formulation and program planning for primary education;
b. the financing of primary education;
c. the administration and management of the joint federal-provincial primary school system;
d. the substantive content of the primary education program as to the adequacy of teaching, curricula, texts, other teaching materials, and of the physical environment of the classroom; and
e. the role of non-formal education as a support for and supplement to the formal primary school system.

2. Content of the Analysis

Part II of this report, entitled The Analysis, contains the Team's detailed observations, findings, conclusions, and recommendations on each of the five basic elements indicated above. Thus, each of Chapters II through VI of Part II is precisely an analysis of one of these five subjects. These chapters were written on the basis of interviews with over 380 school system officials at all levels plus an exhaustive review of the existing literature on the subject. Chapter I is an introductory overview of the setting. It also discusses study methodology and summarizes the findings of Part III, discussed further below. The final chapter of Part II, Chapter VII describes, for illustrative purposes, a potential action program showing how, in the Pakistan context of today, in concrete terms, the recommendations made in Chapters II through VI could be practically carried out.

3. The Case Studies Analysis

Part III of the report consists of a special attitudes and opinions survey including interviews with over 2,000 persons involved in the programs of some 220 selected primary schools, requiring seven sets of questionnaires. Respondents included these schools' students, teachers, parents, school administrators, and concerned community leaders.

4. The Annexes

Part IV consists, most importantly, of additional data on the key subject areas, too voluminous to be included in the body of the report. It also includes a listing of interviewees, acronyms, the scope of work, and a Bibliography reflecting most of the written materials used in the analysis. In addition, the Assessment Team compiled and left with USAID/Pakistan a file of newspaper and periodical clippings on education in Pakistan covering the months of March through June 1986, plus a file of relevant photographs taken by members of the Assessment Team as they visited education authorities and schools throughout the country.

5. Summary of Principal Substantive Findings of Part II, The Analysis

a. Chapter II. Policy Formulation and Program Planning

The strengths of the present system are as follows:

1) its broad base at the local level;

2) long experience in being as responsible as feasible to expressions of local needs;

3) present plans to broaden such participation at the community level still further by involving the village councils as well as district councils in the early stages of planning new projects development;

4) the well established bureaucracy that functions, mechanistically at least, with some precision from the tehsil up through the provincial and federal levels; and

5) this bureaucracy's familiarity with and total involvement in a strong national planning system and tradition dating back to its creation shortly after independence, some 35 years ago.

The problems encountered with the present system of policy and planning include:

1) Neither policy planning nor program development are based on an adequate management information system, neither at local, provincial nor national levels. While, in one province, substantial progress has been made toward an effective MIS and the effort to establish such systems has been undertaken in the other three, primary education remains without an adequate data base for sound planning and program and project elaboration.

Such a data base, ideally, needs to be begun at the village school level, be effectively operated and controlled at an initial administrative level no higher than the village council, and be part of a system that is compatible both within and between provinces.

2) Although the form for the program and project identification system and its procedural aspects are well understood and faithfully followed, the substance of the analytical aspects of the process is often weak. This is attributable in part to an inadequate MIS, but the need for improvement goes beyond this. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly why, but the result is that project proposals, notably those needing federal funding, reach Islamabad less than well prepared from a professional content standpoint. Their weaknesses make it difficult for them to run the gamut of federal level approvals both within the Ministry of Education and, more seriously, in the Ministry of Planning and Development where an able professional staff of educationists sits in review over such proposals with the power to approve or disapprove them.

b. Chapter III. The Financing of Primary and Non-formal Education

This analysis spells out in substantial detail the long-standing phenomenon of the wide dichotomy between planned levels of expenditures on primary education which for some 20 years have been relatively high, and actual expenditures, which have invariably been sharply lower. The chronic underfunding of primary education in particular, especially over the past 15 years, is highlighted. The analysis traces the record of performance (actual expenditures) against both succeeding five-year plans and the Annual Development Plans, showing a consistent shortfall in performance. Most dramatic was the difference between the projections of the 5th five-year plan and actual performance during that period (1978-83) which fell over 50% below the planned level and represented the lowest level of national effort in support of education in the independent nation's history. Also discussed in this chapter is performance versus planned expenditure during FY 1986, the year, ending on June 30, 1986, in which the analysis was made. For the three years of the current (6th) five-year plan thus far elapsed, expenditures had by early in calendar year 1986 but little exceeded the rate of expenditures under the Fifth Plan. However, note is taken of an apparent upsurge in the last quarter of the fiscal year due to the response of the provincial and federal bureaucracies to the new initiatives promoting primary education and literacy announced by the Prime Minister of the new civilian government on December 31, 1985, as martial law ended. The data available to the Assessment Team as it concluded its studies still reflected allocations of funds rather than actual expenditures but such allocations were significantly up, as were the amounts for education in general in the new budget projections for FY 1987 and in the 1987 Annual Development Plans. Being in effect, still plans, it was not possible in the analysis to indicate to what extent a new trend may in actuality be being set. The future of increased investment in education has still to be judged as an unknown. However, note is being taken of a major difference, this time. It is that the Prime Minister has been the prime mover of the new top priority

for primary education and literary training. His strong vocal espousement, supported by the President and the Governors of the four provinces, lends a credence to the possibility that there may be follow up and action this time. The earlier plans that fell short, while approved at the highest level, were the result of collegial consensus at the National Planning Commission level and did not have the degree of strength of the support of the chief executive, the Prime Minister, nor his personal imprimature as the new plans do. Perhaps these circumstances suggest that a point in time may have been reached when the nation may at last be able to come squarely to grips with the problems of its deteriorating educational base. It is in the light of this possibility that the Assessment Team's analyses have been predicated. These analyses have been unsparing where weaknesses have been found, but the end aim of such probings has been to identify and recommend approaches to solving the problems involved, not simply to have dissected them.

c. Chapter IV. Organization, Management and Administration of the Primary and Non-Formal Education Systems

This analysis reveals that Pakistan has an effective organizational structure for educational administration, including primary education, with the major exceptions noted below. The system's strength lies in its being part of an established national, provincial and local government structure that has governed well, in the law and order sense, for over a century. Thus, from the national ministry, through the provincial departments of education to the Assistant Sub-Divisional Education Officers (ASDEOs) at the Tehsil (county) level, the structure is sound and functions well, with the major exceptions to be noted below. These exceptions -- the serious problems that the educational structure has thus far failed to cope with adequately, arise from the fact that structure and function do not reach to the real local level, in education system terms. This is, of course, the village primary and middle schools level. "Supervision" is a function performed by ASDEOs, each of whom is responsible for "supervising" from 100 and, in some cases, to over 200 schools. With this kind of workload per supervisor neither adequate administrative nor substantive professional supervision and guidance are possible. This problem has been fully recognized and no one wishes to solve it more than the country's educational leaders and the educational establishment in general. Solution thus far, however, has, as has education development in general, been prevented by the chronic underfunding of the educational system. The PEDEP project being carried out in cooperation with the World Bank involves a promising effort to deal with the supervision problem, which is discussed in some detail in Chapter IV and in Chapter V.

A second major weakness in the present system involves, once again, the lack of an adequate MIS. Such a system is as important to operations, control and to day-to-day management effectiveness as it is to planning and project design, if not more so.

A third problem brought out by the analysis contained in Chapter IV is that while the cadre of professional education officers serving in supervising and managerial jobs at the Tehsil, District, Division and Provincial levels

are able officers -- promotion from within is the rule -- these officers began as teachers, distinguished themselves as skilled teachers and hence were promoted to the managerial level without having gained any deliberate training or experience in management and administration. Some are, of course, born to the role, but these are few. The analysis points out the need for specialized in-service training in management and administration for the vast cadre of able educationists who have heretofor not had the opportunity to study professionally the fields with which their current management work is involved.

Chapter IV and its annex also contain a uniquely complete description in detail of the organization of the four provincial Departments of Education, including job descriptions down to the ASDEO level. While not particularly stimulating reading, this analysis is invaluable for reference and for full understanding of how the intricate system works.

d. Chapter V. The Formal Primary Education System

The analysis of the substantive content of primary education: the provision by the system of a favorable learning environment and the achievement of a successful learning experience for the school child -- again reveals the paradox of impressive positive resources on the one hand and discouraging aggregate results on the other. Again, the major blame must be placed on the fact of chronic underfunding. The educational establishment knows much better how to teach and to bring about learning achievement than it has had the opportunity to demonstrate -- due to lack of funds. While one of the problems is inadequately trained and inadequately performing teachers, for every such teacher there are scores of able, dedicated teachers battling against the heavy odds imposed on them by the system to make one of the world's most difficult primary curricula the basis for a meaningful learning experience. Many succeed but by far from the degree possible if they had adequate funds and facilities. The successful experiences of the adequately financed private and parastatal schools included in the survey that is reported on in Part III of this report vividly illustrate this.

The analysis of the public federal-provincial primary school system contained in Chapter V both describes the present system and outlines its strengths and weaknesses. The recommendations made in Chapter V for correcting the weaknesses encountered constitute, along with those for non-formal education expansion, the majority of the recommendations for action made in this report. They cover the crucial subjects of pre-service and in-service teacher training, supervision, curriculum quality and relevance, texts and teaching materials, teachers' aids, physical facilities including both plant and equipment plus such necessities as water and sanitation. The major deficiency areas that the analysis in Chapter V describes, and for which it then prescribes remedies, include: the teacher training program, both pre-service and in-service; pedagogical supervision of the classroom teacher; curricula relevance in rural schools to the rural economies to which such curricula are exposed; availability of text books, inadequate teacher-pupil ratios per classroom caused mainly by underfunding which leads to both inadequate numbers of classrooms per se and to too few

teachers per grade per school. This also causes another anamoloy -- gross overcrowding in many schools on the one hand while other schools function at half-capacity or less for want of teachers or students or both. Last, but by no means least, is the problem of the deplorable physical condition of many hundreds of schools -- both rural and urban their deficiencies ranging from the "schools without walls" (no building) to the dark, sub-standard structures having neither water, nor sanitary facilities, nor enough rooms, nor playground space, yet which may nevertheless be seriously overcrowded. Such conditions are said to account in an important part for the unwillingness of children to attend school or their parents to allow them to do so, and for many drop-outs. Chapter V also describes the efforts being made to provide more adequate equipment for classroom teaching, with varying degrees of success.

In the midst of the gloomy pictures of the quality of education being provided by today's teachers in today's classrooms, the analysis cites two ongoing programs that have proven to be major steps in the right direction and on which expanding reforms may be built. These are the PEDEP Program being carried out with World Bank cooperation and the Mosque Schools Program.

e. Chapter VI. Non-Formal Education in Pakistan

The study of non-formal education activities in Pakistan (Chapter VI) found that underfunding of the large government project, LAMEC, is making difficult the achievement of the program's targets. Management staff was insufficient in LAMEC's National Program but steps are being taken to strengthen it. Similarly, LAMEC is adding a follow-up set of topic booklets to its literacy classes, designed to further functional literacy. The Allama Iqbal Open University pilot programs were seen as strong and contributing well toward the non-formal effort. The other government projects have had difficulties meeting their planned implementation and targets. The private and parastatal combinations of literacy and skills programs varied widely but showed considerable promise for attaining occupational and literacy competence. All programs are as yet on too small a scale to be making a truly significant positive change in the literacy level. Both government and private as well as parastatal programs suffer from the same underfunding malady that has afflicted primary education's efforts to keep pace with population growth. Until the government and Pakistan society in general accord a higher priority to literacy training and primary education and translate that priority into expanded budgets, the country's hopes for making rapid enough gains in its literacy level to catch up with its neighbors will remain just that. The analysis thus concludes that expansion of the existing public, parastatal and private literacy and skills training programs should be a highest priority effort, corollary to that aimed at expanding primary education programs by increasing their budgets, their cost-effectiveness, and their appeal to Pakistani youth and their parents.

The formal and non-formal systems overlap and have, each its own, a special role to play. The overlap as well as the distinct roles should be encouraged since in the long run a fully efficient formal system will permit non-formal educational programs to perform important specialized development functions, relieved of the crushing burden of the crash mass literacy

effort. Non-formal educational methods may conceptually be likened to high technology approaches to difficult education and training problems -- problems not reachable by orthodox or traditional methods. At the moment such high technology needs, perforce, have to be focused on the emergency problem of a deteriorating literacy rate. In the longer term its role, or one of its roles, may well be that of improving the quality of teaching and the learning process in the formal system. It is for these reasons, as well as the present emergency, that it is important that the formal school system and the institutions involved in non-formal education work closely together. The drop-in school experiment involving using non-formal methods to meet formal requirements is one good example of where the formal and informal modes may fruitfully work together.

6. Summary of Part III. Case Studies of Selected Primary Schools in Pakistan

The data from the 220 case studies undertaken were generally congruent with findings of the overall assessment team: schools with no buildings, deficient to severely damaged structures; no or insufficient sanitary facilities, drinking water, playgrounds, and furniture -- almost always for provincial schools. The city schools were mostly seriously crowded and sometimes with more than one teacher conducting class in the same room at the same time. Federal, parastatal, and private schools rarely presented these problems; municipal corporation and committee schools were better maintained but overcrowding was found in some.

While 72% of the sample teachers held certificates, only 58% did in provincial schools and less in the tribal areas. Women were the majority among the teachers, and were almost exclusively the instructors in girls, mixed, parastatal, and private primary schools.

Twenty-eight percent of the listed Class I enrollments were actually preschool children; when these were subtracted, the losses between grades was still too high but not as severe as federal statistics imply. Students per teacher ranged from 4 to 160. Teacher absenteeism in the schools studied was very low; pupil absences averaged about 10%.

Teachers rated their performance and the texts as fair; parents and community leaders' opinions were more favorable. Youth was highly positive about teachers.

Although opinions varied widely, parents and community leaders were more likely to favor not teaching English and Arabic in the first three grades. Local language instruction was opposed in the Panjabi speaking areas but recommended by most respondents in the other areas. Urdu was generally favored for one period a day until middle school where it was suggested as the medium for most of the day.

Parents, community leaders and youth ascribed non-enrollments and dropouts primarily to economic factors: the need to work and insufficient family resources to pay for schooling. Parental neglect was usually second. All other factors, including the often-read emphasis on "tradition" for girls, were a very low proportion of the reasons given.

Parents and community leaders were most likely to favor a target of at least eight grades of schooling for girls and twelve for boys (except for the Punjab: where the average opinions were five and ten years). Tribal and rural areas, alleged to oppose education, were as favorable on boys' education as other areas, and only slightly less for girls -- but their desired levels were far higher than what is being provided.

Few community leaders and youth knew about the opportunities for literacy and skills education, even when a program existed in their communities. Those that did held positive opinions about most of the programs, instructional materials, and teachers. They generally felt it took longer than six months to learn to read and write, and were skeptical about the effectiveness of television literacy efforts. Skills plus literacy programs for girls and women were highly rated wherever they existed.

One of the most important aspects of the case studies survey was that it sampled more than the provincial school system's schools, which had been the principal focus of the Assessment per se. In including in the study parastatal, private, and muncipal corporation schools there arose the opportunity to compare what freedom from underfunding can do to improve the quality of education and to enhance student, parental and community attitudes toward the value of education and its importance to family as well as community and national development.

A second crucial point highlighted in the case studies survey, that could well have been revealed more clearly in the Assessment per se but was not, is the degree to which poverty, especially rural farm family poverty, prevents school attendance. In the survey, its enumerators talked to teachers, students, non-attending school age youth, parents, and the officials of the selected schools. They all added "too poor to afford it" prominently to the list of reasons for low enrollment. Provincial, District and Tehsil authorities had emphasized poor physical conditions, quality of instruction, non-practical curricula, etc., as principal reasons for children not attending school. Few mentioned that many families are literally too poor to send their children even to a "free" public school; but the survey respondents provided this response in enough instances to suggest that it is a significant factor in the low enrollment rate. This buttresses both the argument in favor of scholarships for needy students, and the observation that increased participation of the subsistence rural farm family in the development process is of growing priority importance.

One final note on the case studies survey: in the process of inventorying all categories of primary schools, as the case studies work scope required, Part III of this report, as a result, contains the most comprehensive listing and review to be found anywhere in one place of the full scope and extent of the highly varied sponsorship of primary schools in Pakistan.

C. SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Educational Development in Pakistan Since Independence, in the Context of the Nation's Overall Economic and Social Development Program -- 1947-1985

a. The Positive Aspects

1) Pakistan has made substantial progress in education, including primary education, since gaining its independence in 1947. At the time of independence, only 17% of the children of primary school age were attending school -- some 770,000 students (110,000 girls) in 8,413 schools employing 17,800 teachers. By 1984, the enrollment percentage had increased to over 40%[1] or to almost 7 million students (2.2 million girls) in 75,000 schools employing some 214,000 teachers.[2] While primary schools and enrollment thus increased by 8.8 times between 1947 and 1984, the number of colleges and universities in this same period increased by 11.5 times and their enrollment by more than 27 times.[3] Pakistan has, thus, in its first 36 years made considerable headway in the construction of an educational system designed to meet a number of its development needs as a new nation, though by no means all of them, as will be seen.

2) In the broader area of economic development in general, Pakistan has also been successful in meeting important objectives. The growth of industry has been impressive. The country has become self-sufficient in wheat, a net exporter of rice,[4] a major foreign exchange earner from its growing exports of cotton cloth, cotton yarn and raw cotton, and from an increasing variety of less traditional industrial and agro-industrial export products, including personnel, whose total value now exceeds the

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[1] Social Indicators of Pakistan, 1985. GOP: Federal Bureau of Statistics, Karachi, 1986, pp. 113-114.

[2] Primary Education in Pakistan and Other Asian Countries. Academy for Educational Planning and Management, Islamabad, November 1985.

[3] Action Plan for Educational Development, 1983-88. GOP: Ministry of Education, 1984.

[4] The Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan reported on May 11 that, by April 30, it had already exceeded its export goal for the fiscal year and that, by 30 June, exports would exceed target by 100,000 tons, total exports for the year thus yielding more than $330 million. The Muslim (Islamabad), May 12.

total for all cotton products and rice combined. The average annual economic growth rate (as a percentage of GNP in constant prices) from 1969 to 1985 has been close to 6% (5.72),[5] an impressive record by any standard.

3) Pakistan has developed a professional and administrative educational infrastructure that is institutionally strong and sound. This sophisticated educational bureaucratic hierarchy, a part of the Civil Service in general, functions well -- unusually well for a developing country -- down to the Tehsil level. Its two principal weaknesses are that it does not effectively extend beyond the sub-district level to the grassroots where the people and the schools are; and that despite its impressive structure -- in a still photograph, it would look good -- it suffers from lack of familiarity with, and thus use of, modern, efficient administrative and management practices. A video cassette recording of the system at work at the Provincial, Division, District and Tehsil levels would be likely to reveal a not so smoothly running piece of machinery. But, it is there. Further, there are established institutions within the system that could be of special utility in any primary education reform and development effort. They include the Academy for Educational Planning and Management, the university departments and institutes of education, the Open University, some Municipal Corporations and the private schools. In the urban areas, many of these schools are already serving as useful models, establishing critical benchmarks for defining what is adequate to primary education and demonstrating how average daily school attendance can be close to maximum and drop-outs all but nil.

b. Less Positive Aspects

1) Neglect of rural development in the nation's development plans and budgets appears to be a problem that is constraining effective further progress in both education and national economic and social development in general. Neglect of rural areas and peoples appears to have been, for some time, an endemic problem, manifesting itself in more ways than in the lack of rural primary schools, extending also to inadequacies in rural social services such as primary health care and the lack of adequate investments in those kinds of agricultural and agro-industrial programs that could benefit the great majority of rural farm families who are either tenants or subsistence farmers, or farm laborers. These rural families constitute over 90% of the country's rural agriculture-oriented population which is, in turn, more than 70% of the total national

[5] Pakistan: Economic and Social Development Prospects. Vol. 1. Recent Economic Development and Long-Term Prospects. The World Bank, February 1986.

population. Yet, by and large, most of them have yet to be included as active participants in the nation's development program. They have, of course, benefited marginally from major infrastructure works, such as roads, power, communications, the world's greatest irrigation system, and from remittances. These developments, however, have increased rural farm families' poverty-level incomes less than their expectations, so that the failure of the system thus far to permit their sharing an equitable proportion of the nation's very substantial economic growth could become destablizing. It is estimated that some 30% of the country's rural families live below the poverty line and that an additional 40% live at a subsistence level close to the poverty line.[6]

Many of these same families' school-age children do not have access to schools. Where there may be schools in name, they often tend to be so under-budgeted, poorly staffed with underpaid teachers and so ill-provided with physical facilities and teaching materials that the child chooses not to go to school, or to drop-out disillusioned. Many times it is the parents who decide that their children are better off not in school.

The problem of Pakistan's low 40-48% enrollment rate is, overwhelmingly, a rural one. Over 72% (77% boys; 68% girls) of urban school age children are already in school and the percentage is increasing rapidly, carried along by a momentum of its own, fueled in part by an explosive growth of private schools. The rural participation ratio, on the other hand, is less than 40% overall, and not rising. In the most populous and prosperous province, the Punjab, some 25% of rural girls are in school, compared to 19% in Sind Province, 10% in the NWFP and 7.2% in Baluchistan. The corresponding figures for boys are 54%; 60%; 52% and 38%.

These data on rural education enrollments have remained static now for some 15 years. This means that the annual increases in schools, teachers and facilities actually financed by the Federal and Provincial government each year have barely or possibly not quite kept pace with the population growth rate. The results, in terms of national literacy, are devastating. Pakistan's literacy rate is officially said to be 26%, but many observers regard this as a high estimate and agree that it is not rising because of the static, if not deteriorating, status of rural primary education. World Bank data show Pakistan's literacy rate as 24% in 1984[7] -- among the lowest in the world and far below those of its Asian neighbors -- and principal competitors in world trade: e.g., Sri

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[6]Primary Education in Pakistan, op. cit., p. 4.

[7]World Development Report, 1985. Social Indicators Data Sheets. The World Bank, 1984.

Lanka, 86%; Thailand, 79%; Philippines, 87%; Burma, 66%.[8] The Pakistan data on rural literacy and female literacy are particularly disturbing. Rural literacy overall is 15% -- 23% male and 5.7% female. Female literacy overall is but 13.9% while that for males is 32%. The corresponding figures for urban population is 43.6%; 51.7% male and 34% female.[9]

To repeat, rural literacy overall is 15% and possibly falling as population increases faster than classrooms and teachers. The literacy rate for rural girls is 5.7% (1.7% in Baluchistan) and probably not rising.* These data place Pakistan in the bottom quartile of developing nations in terms of educational effort and achievement[10].

2) Primary Education's Low Priority Within the Education Spectrum. Another problem area that has contributed to Pakistan's weak educational base and thus to its precarious national literacy predicament is that of the long-established policy and practice of skewing educational expenditures away from a strong primary and middle school base toward comparatively massive investment in higher and university education.

The record makes it abundantly clear that higher and technical education have had, and continue to have, a clear priority over primary education despite efforts since the beginning of the Fourth Plan Period (1970) to accord greater support to primary education. Both the Fifth and Sixth Plans state that primary education will, during the plan period, be given greater emphasis. The Fifth Plan period, however, yielded primary education's worst actual growth performance on record. The Sixth Plan tried to some degree to make up for this by projecting a large catch-up investment program with ambitious targets -- but they are not being met.

Students enrolled in higher education constitute fewer than 1% of total students, but are the objects of over 30% of the education budget (1984/85). Only 45.6% of the education budget is allocated to primary education whose students constitute 88% (grades 1-8) of all students. Since all education in Pakistan is substantially free except for minor fees, its costs constitute a public subsidy enjoyed by all participating students and their families. According to the World Bank, "the subsidy a student in higher education receives is seven times that of a primary

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[8]Internal USAID documents, which also show the comparable rate for Pakistan to be 21%.

[9]Promotion of Girls Education in the Context of Universalization of Primary Education. Academy for Educational Planning and Management, Islamabad, September 1985, p. 18.

[10]Unpublished World Bank Staff Paper, January 1986.

*A UNICEF study in 1980 placed female literacy in Baluchistan at .8%. The 1.7% figure is from the 1981 National Census.

student and five times that of a secondary student. Within higher education, those enrolled in the universities enjoy an even larger advantage. The subsidy they receive is 6 times that of a college student, 19 times that of a secondary student and 29 times that of a primary school student."[11]

3) The Underfunding of Education. Primary education's most basic problem is a derivative of the first two. The endemic neglect of rural areas and peoples and their schools, coupled with fiscal and policy prejudices against primary education in favor of higher education, have resulted in "persistent and serious underfunding"[12] of education in general and primary education in particular. Pakistan has never allocated as much as 2% of GNP to the education sector nor accorded it as much as an 8% share of total public expenditures. Most other Asian countries allocate 3-6% of GNP and 12-15% of total public expenditures to their education sectors.[13]

4) The Consequences of Underfunding. The most serious direct consequences of Pakistan's underfunding of primary education have already been noted -- a meager 40-48% enrollment rate due primarily to rural non-attendance, and a faltering 24% literacy rate also due basically to poor rural school performance. Expert observers both inside and outside Pakistan fear that if something is not done soon to reverse the deteriorating rural primary school situation there will be still more far-reaching negative consequences for Pakistan's continued economic and social growth. The World Bank has stated that "the fact that only 15% of the rural population...is literate...and that little progress has been made in this sector in the last fifteen years as the education system has barely kept pace with the rapidly expanding school-age population...(means that) the unusually low educational attainments of Pakistan's rapidly growing population, particularly of the female population, will become a serious impediment to the country's long-term development process."[14] The Bank's February 1986 report further states that "Pakistan's good economic growth performance to date can only be sustained over the long term if more emphasis is given and increased financial allocations are made to the education sector as a whole and to primary and lower secondary education in particular.[15]

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[11] Pakistan: Economic and Social Development Prospects. Vol. II. The World Bank, February 1986.

[12] Ibid., p. 20.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p. 19.

[15] Ibid., p. 46.

A 1983 Ministry of Education publication makes the same point still more forcefully. It states that "unless radical changes in existing primary education strategies are sought, all aspirations to enter the 21st century as an equal partner of the West and others in the realms of science and technology will remain unfulfilled. The terrible cost of continued neglect in this area shall have to be paid for through the nose. It would be prudent to bear whatever the sacrifice today, rather than to postpone it to tomorrow when posterity shall have to pay, with enormous compound interest."[16]

2. Recent Pronouncements of Significant Changes in Educational Policy: December 31, 1985 - To Date

On the eve of the termination of martial law, New Year's eve, December 31, 1985, Prime Minister Junejo announced a five-point program of national development, two of which bear directly on the issues of Pakistan's lagging primary education and literacy programs. As to literacy, the Prime Minister has promised a mass campaign of staggering magnitude and speed, aiming to double the literacy rate in four years, involving the creation of some 100,000 "Literacy Centres." As to education for development, primary education has been accorded, both in the December 31 statement, and many times since, the highest of priorities within the education sector, and a place among the top priorities for new investment across the entire spectrum of national development. The high yielding 5% "IQRA" tax recently imposed on all imports will be dedicated primarily, it has been stated, to the literacy campaign and to primary education. What proportion "primarily" means is not known.

Whether substantial additional funds including all or a portion of the IQRA tax revenues are in fact to be devoted to education and literacy is not yet clear. As this assessment is being written, a number of exercises are underway that are intended to be affected by the new policy priorities. These include the annual budgets of the Centre and the Provinces for 1986-87, and the Federal and Provincial Annual Development Plans for 1986-87. Until these exercises are completed and the allocations of funds have actually been made, it will not be known whether the new policy pronouncements in fact presage a new era for Pakistan's primary educational system or whether it will suffer the same fate as befell it during Pakistan's Fifth and Sixth 5-Year Plan periods. During the Fifth Plan period (1978-83) expenditures for education fell to their lowest level in the history of independent Pakistan, despite the fact that the approved official plan had called for a doubling of the education budget. It had also specified a recasting of priorities within the education sector to place primary education first, but this did not happen either. Expenditures for primary education remained in their accustomed place. During the current Sixth Plan period actual expenditures for primary education are substantially short of plan goals. On the other hand, the proposed Federal Budget for 1986-87 now before the Congress proposes substantial increases for education, some of which may be for primary education.

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[16]Draft Comprehensive Report, Primary Education Project. Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1983, p. 55.

Table A.

Basic Data On Primary Education in Pakistan, 1984-85

Number of Primary Schools:	75,332
Number of Teachers:	214,500
Teachers per School:	2.84
Number of Middle Schools (Grades 6-8):	6,229
Number of Teachers:	59,600
Teachers per School:	9.57
Number of Primary Students (Grades 1-5):	6.6 million
Number of Middle Students (Grades 6-8):	1.7 million
Number of Children of Primary School Age:	13.6 million (1981 census)
Male:	7.1 million
Female:	6.4 million
Percent in School, Total:	40.19%
Male:	51.6%
Female:	27.5%
Number of Children of Middle School Age:	5.6 million
Male:	3.0 million
Female:	2.5 million
Percent in School, Total:	25 %
Male:	34 %
Female:	14 %
Average Number of Students Per School:	
Primary:	88
Middle:	279
Percentage of Female Teachers:	
Primary:	28 %
Middle:	32.5%

Source: Social Indicators of Pakistan, 1985. Published by the GOP, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1986.

Table B.

Government Expenditures on Education 1984-85[1]

Total All Levels:	9,351.5 million Rupees (approx. $600 million)
Primary Only:	3,362.8 million Rupees
% of Total that is Primary:	36% (approx. $216 million)
Development Expenditures:	1,977.4 million Rupees
Non-development Expenditures:	7,956.9 million Rupees
% of Total that is Developmental:	25 %

Expenditures on Primary Education (Grades 1-8)

As % of Total Expenditure	6%
Primary Students as % of Total Students:	87%

Comparative Expenditures on Education (All Categories)[2]

	Pakistan	Average for Developing Countries
As % of GNP:	1.5-1.9%	4.4%
As % of Total GOP Expenditures:	7.0%	17.0%

Table C.

Comparisons of Enrollment Ratios and Literacy Ratios with Other Asian Countries[3]

Country	Enrollment Ratio Primary Schools	Literacy Rate
Pakistan	40-48 %	20-26 %
Bangladesh	65 %	22 %
China	93 %	77 %
India	78 %	36 %
Indonesia	85 %	62 %
Malaysia	97 %	70 %
Nepal	70 %	19 %
Philippines	89 %	80 %
Thailand	82 %	82 %
Sri Lanka	NA	85 %
Quartile Developing Countries		
Upper	98 %	81 %
Median	83 %	53 %
Lower	60 %	25 %

[1]Social Indicators of Pakistan 1985. Federal Bureau of Statistics. Karachi, 1986.

[2]Comparative Education Indicators. The World Bank, 1985.

[3]Primary Education in Pakistan and the Asian Countries. AEPAM, Islamabad, November, 1985, and Action Plan for Educational Development. Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1984.

It is important to Pakistan that the announced new policies supporting primary education be implemented in actuality through appropriate budgetary allocations and expenditures and investment action. If this does not happen via the 1986-87 and 1978-88 budgets and Annual Development Plans, and ultimately in the Seventh Plan, Pakistan will have, however unwittingly, turned down a road whose point of no return may not be far beyond. To avoid this, drastic measures to expand the nation's public sector resources base may be necessary. This involves issues that educators alone cannot decide, though education's fate, and that of the nation may lie in the decisions emanating therefrom. Let it be hoped, then, that the resources base will prove to be sufficient to meet the country's critical need for a strong educational system and that, if not, the nation's decision makers will have the wisdom and the courage to broaden the resources base to accomplish this.

3. Identification of the Shortcomings of the Present System of Primary Education that Need Correction

a. General Shortcomings. Everything said thus far suggests that a moment in time may have arrived in which it may be possible to make dramatic progress rapidly in increasing the effectiveness of Pakistan's primary education system. What are the essential requirements of a program designed to accomplish this? To determine this, it is necessary, first, to take a closer look at the problems of the present system. It is not simply a matter of needing enough more money for enough additional schools to provide classroom space for those now without it. What is involved is a combination of this with the need for the funds and skills required to improve the sub-standard classrooms that exist and to improve the teaching and learning processes that are going on inside them. Pakistan's low enrollment rate of 40% does not reflect the full extent of the problem to be solved. Perhaps even more serious than the fact that more than half the children do not enroll is the fact that of those who do, half drop-out before finishing 5th grade and most of these have dropped out after the first year. Why? There are many reasons, including economic and cultural, but the most prevalent reasons would seem to be that children leave school because they don't like it or find it irrelevant to their needs and interests. Or their parents do, or both.

Apparently, most who don't start school do so for essentially the same reasons -- economic and cultural in some cases, but mainly because they believe they will not like it and will find it not useful, based on the school's reputation in the community.

b. The Urban Schools Exception. It should be clarified that the analysis being made here applies more to government rural primary schools than to the primary schools of the major urban centers. It is rural primary education that is the more seriously faltering. Urban schools have their problems and the incidence of girls in urban schools is still too low. Also, there are smaller cities and towns classified as urban where the primary schools are as sub-standard as the rural schools. But, for most every problem the urban schools of the major cities have, there is a workable solution, reasonably within reach. Since, however, the school age population related to rural schools constitutes over 70% of all primary school children in the country, it is but small consolation that the schools of the major cities are relatively well off.

c. The Private Schools Exception. Pakistan's private schools at the primary as well as at higher levels are highly important to Pakistan. They are, of course, essentially urban schools and their "transfer of technology" capability is most applicable and useful to the government urban primary school. They have, however, developed such useful teaching techniques that, in addition to being worthy of support in their own right and their expansion desirable, means should be developed to transfer private school technologies to the public sector. In addition, private education sponsoring organizations should be encouraged to build and operate primary schools in rural areas. This is said not to be feasible by many competent observers. The possibilities, however, of private rural primary schools should be studied further. There are further recommendations to this effect later in this report.

d. Identification of the Principal Specific Problems of Rural Primary Schools. What are the principal specific, practical problems of the rural primary schools? Some of the answers to this question are as follows:

Buildings are either non-existent or so sub-standard as to be unfit for human habitation. Schools without buildings hold class under trees, in tents, or in ad hoc lean-tos. Such schools, it is said, constitute 21% of all primary schools in Pakistan today.* Where there are buildings, there is often no furniture. Students sit on the floor, on mats (as they do in the open air, too) and hold their papers in their laps. Even some World Bank Project schools are sub-standard, not because the specifications were not adequate, but because these specifications were not followed. Many rural schools have neither potable water, nor sanitary facilities, nor desks, chairs, nor adequate light. Few textbooks are in evidence, nor little of any other kinds of teaching materials, except for hand slates and blackboards. Teachers do not appear effective, that is, when present. Teacher absenteeism has become a serious, chronic, problem. Because so many rural schools in Pakistan are not desirable places to be in, many teachers, as well as students, simply prefer to stay away. Thus, adding the same kinds of sub-standard schools and teachers to the system only exacerbates a bad situation at high cost to the government.

Proportional participation declines further and the drop-out rate rises as public investment in sub-standard rural primary schools increases.

The female half of the population suffers the most. There are far fewer classrooms and teachers for them, and the ones that are available have the same qualitative defects as do the boys' schools. As in the case of the males, the present trend appears not to be simply an undesirably low plateau but a deteriorating one in which the injection of funds alone only accelerates the deterioration.

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*Promotion of Girls Education in Context of Universalization of Primary Education. Academy for Educational Planning and Management, Islamabad, September 1985, p. 29.

The principal defects in rural primary education in Pakistan today may be categorized in brief as follows:

1) The inadequacy of the physical facility -- lacking water, sanitation, air, light, furniture.

2) The inadequacy of the teacher -- inadequately trained, pre-service, and inadequately trained, in-service.

3) Inadequacy of the "system" to provide the teacher with assistance, guidance and supervision.

4) Where the school is large (5 classes or more), the frequent failure to provide a qualified school principal.

5) The irrelevance of the curriculum to rural life.

6) The waste involved in having to have separate schools for boys and girls with separate duplicity of administration and supervision. The net negative effect of this is lack of educational opportunities for girls.

7) The excessive difficulty of the curriculum for 5-year olds, cramming too many subjects into the first three years in particular. The failure to recognize how tremendous is the pupil's task of learning to read and write with comprehension in mother tongue, Urdu and Arabic in so short a time.

8) The standard pattern of two rooms and two teachers for five grades, involving five or more classes. Such schools are, in the words of the Chief Planning Officer of one province's Education Department, "a cruel joke." It is the considered opinion of the Assessment Team that the 5-room, 5-teacher school with a principal, or multiples thereof, is the minimum satisfactory physical and staffing pattern for rural primary schools. That kind of physical set-up at least allows teacher and supervisor the opportunity to effectively exercise their teaching skills and to give the student a positive, rather than negative, learning environment.

9) The almost universal absence of enough textbooks, other learning materials, teachers' guides and "kits" to permit anything more than a sterile rote learning experience that does not lead to comprehension and thus to learning.

10) An important factor to be noted parenthetically here is the paradox of the underused classroom. Enough unpopular 2-room, 2-teacher, 5-grade schools have been built along with enough sub-standard rented buildings that hundreds of children in given instances have, as noted above, elected either not to attend school or to drop-out. This can, and does, reduce school enrollment in some schools to a handful. Yet the building and renting of non-viable physical plants continue, leaving in their wake the continuing paradox of the under-utilized school and teacher in the midst of surrounding schools, particularly near urban centers that are over-crowded, under-equipped and under-staffed.

11) Inadequacies in school system administration and management. One of the problems of all levels of education in Pakistan, particularly primary education, is that the entire cadre is technically, not administratively, oriented. Yet most of the work of the education hierarchy above the classroom level, and that of first line technical supervision, involves management and administration. Thus, while most education officials at the province, district and Tehsil levels have been good teachers, or they would not have been promoted to the managerial ranks, only a few are born managers. For the most part, those involved in administering the four, far-flung, provincial school systems have not been trained in administration.

e. Non-Formal Needs

There is a need for a "safety net" program to provide non-enrollees and drop-outs who are still "children" (i.e., ages 9-14) a belated but practical opportunity to catch up -- to undertake special intensive studies leading to the primary school certificate and beyond. Far too many rural youth who make the mistake of not starting school, or dropping out, realize that mistake while still children, yet feel too old to start over as 10-year olds in a 5-year-old environment. They need special opportunities, including non-formal programs, to enable them to re-enter the mainstream formal system before they are doomed to join permanently the ranks of the growing illiterate majority of the labor force among whom unemployment and underemployment are growing.

There is a parallel need for non-formal educational approaches to skills training, particularly in agriculture and health, focused on illiterate adults enabling them to live more profitable and healthful lives through new knowledge and skills, without their necessarily having to become "literate" to acquire such knowlege and skills. Such skills training programs would, of course, ideally be able to use the entire panoply of audio-visual techniques of learning and teaching, delivered through a variety of systems, including audio and video cassettes as well as radio and television and other modern techniques.

Non-formal education makes qualitative improvements in education which formal schooling seems incapable of making. For example, non-formal education programs tend to benefit females as much as males. The education of girls is one of the keys to solving the educational crisis in Pakistan. Most non-formal education programs are already delivering education and skill training that directly benefit females.

Another reason why non-formal education is important is that it provides models of how Pakistan could be using its resources for educating its young people. These qualities have to do with the capacity to draw on existing community resources (such as using girls with a few years of schooling as home school teachers), its more flexible scheduling and instruction, and its ability to overcome resistance to educating girls. Having literate parents is correlated with greater willingness to send children to school. Since

self-exclusion from primary schools is a major cause for low participation in Pakistan, making parents literate would seem to offer promise in terms of improving school participation rates.

The Adult Literacy Program. The consensus of the Assessment Team regarding the mass literacy campaign just now getting underway is that it is an important endeavor, especially those aspects of it that work to feed students back into the formal system. Increasing literacy by decreasing illiteracy in all possible ways is, of course, of the utmost importance. When looked at as a long-range goal focused on the permanent eradication of illiteracy, the most effective methods for promoting higher literacy levels are those that help turn off the spigot of children reaching age 10 without having learned how to read and write. At present, four out of five Pakistani youth arrive at age 10 without having learned how to read and write. This gross leakage, this growth of illiteracy can be stopped only by making the formal primary school system universal, maximizing enrollment and minimizing drop-outs.

Thus, the basic permanent answer to Pakistan's literacy problem lies in the improvement of the formal school system. The LAMEC literacy campaign to make today's adults minimally literate should be highly commended and supported as an interim emergency, catch-up effort, but not as a substitute for improving the formal system.

f. Girls' Education

Only 20% of rural girls enroll in primary school and the drop-out rate among those few exceeds the 50% general average. The results include a 94% illiteracy rate among rural women, and a meager 3% level of enrollment in secondary schools with less than 1% attending institutes of higher education. While social values in rural areas placing a low priority on women's education are said to be a basic reason for low school attendance by females, this study's survey report suggests that the reasons are more complex. Respondents suggest that access to nearby schools not now available might well make for a substantial difference in parental and students' attitudes regarding girls' school attendance. And it suggests that such values and attitudes may be changing from parental unwillingness to send their girls to far away schools, to a rising demand that more schools open to girls be established close to home. There is growing evidence that given access to schools within a mile of their own village, the demand for schooling for girls may be significantly on the increase, following on the heels of the significant upsurge in female educational demand in the urban areas.

The neglect of female education has had several serious effects. It contributes to the high infant mortality rate; even more to the child morbidity rate, and to child malnutrition when nutrition counts the most, from age 0 to 30 months. But, perhaps the most serious consequence of neglect of female education is its impact on fertility rates and thus on the

rapid population growth rate that soaks up economic growth so fast that its net effect is no gain. It has been clearly shown that female education reduces fertility rates. According to a 1977 study (A. Mohammad, "Fertility Differentials in Pakistan, 1977" Quarterly Research Review, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1983), fertility rates are 7.07 for illiterate women and 3.6 for literates. In terms of schooling, the rates are 4.39 for below primary education; 3.78 for completion of primary education; and 3.07 among those who achieve matriculation.

D. SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS*

1. General Recommendations

The most important single recommendation is that the Ministry of Education should use the funds it has allotted for primary education, whether at present or increased levels, first to improve the quality of its primary schools. This effort should accompany the opening of more new schools. Opening more schools like the present ones is inefficient and wasteful of funds. They draw only 40% of the potential market and 50% of these are lost prior to completion of the fifth grade -- a low 20% efficiency rate. Many additional fifth grade graduates can be produced by adding classrooms, increasing the enrollment in existing schools, and reducing the drop-outs through making primary education a desired commodity. A 90% enrollment together with a drop-out rate reduced to 10% would achieve an efficiency rate of 80%, thus more than tripling the percentage of the fifth grade graduates from any given school district's school-age population.

There are, of course, qualifications to this generalization. It would not be true of already overcrowded schools unless that problem were first corrected. Likewise, it would not be true of existing schools without buildings until such schools are provided adequate classrooms and facilities. In any case, as will be seen below, among the top priority quality improvements needed, improved buildings and facilities for all primary schools are high on the list. Another important qualification is that the generalization should not be taken too literally. Pressures for new schools, especially in rural areas, can sometimes be undeniable and should not be denied. In responding, however, quality considerations should be fully respected.

2. Specific Recommendations

Having recommended that consolidation and quality improvement accompany any major increases in the number of new schools, attention can now be turned to

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*Recommendations a. through i. are discussed more fully in Chapter V; recommendation j. in Chapter IV; recommendation k, l, and m. in Chapter V; recommendation n in Chapter VI; and recommendations o. and r. in Chapter III. Recommendations p. and q. were commended to the Assessment Team by provincial officials as general system up-grading measures.

the specific elements that should make up a program of primary school quality improvement. The principal components of such a quality improvement program are seen to be as follows:

a. Primary Teacher Training

Preservice teacher training programs need to be strengthened, lengthened, made more relevant to the lifestyles of the students, include the inculcation of modern methods of teaching and the creation of a fruitful environment for learning for their students. Inservice teacher training programs should periodically reinforce the above. In order to effect these improvements with care and effectivity, a limited number, say 14, of the existing teacher training institutions should be selected for upgrading, such upgrading to include as a model grades 1-8 for practice teaching, research, and curriculum development purposes.

b. Primary Teacher Selection

To the fullest extent possible, teachers should be selected from within the geographic location where they are going to teach. Women teachers in particular should be selected and trained with a view to their returning to their home areas to teach. The selection and preparation of women school teachers to teach both boys and mixed classes as well as girls should be encouraged and emphasized.

c. Primary Teacher Pay and Inducements

Primary school teachers should receive a special rural school allowance equal to the urban school allowances now in effect, or one double their base salary, whichever is higher.

d. Guaranteed Living Accommodations

Guaranteed living accommodations should be provided to all rural school teachers. Women in particular should be provided desirable living arrangements whether this be in nearby towns with wholly adequate daily transportation, or in apartments with no fewer than five women teachers per apartment, built adjacent to the school or at another preferred nearby location.

e. Number of Teachers per Grade

One primary school teacher should teach one primary grade only. This implies a minimum of five teachers and five classrooms per primary school. In this connection, first grade teachers should not have to also take care of preschool children who seem to come to school in droves from age three on. They overcrowd the space, overwork the teacher, and seriously impede the chances for the real first graders to learn.

f. Curriculum Reform and Development

Primary school curriculum is not related to rural life and most experts are of the view that it is too difficult, especially in the first three years. It needs to be overhauled in concert with development of the 14 teachers colleges and their model practice schools. Major new developments are needed in texts, other materials, teachers' guides, audiovisuals and teaching modules.

g. Buildings, Facilities and Equipment Standards

All primary school building including the existing "schools without walls" should be brought up to minimum basic standards that should include:

1) Permanent weather roof, walls, and floors whose masonry does not crumble underfoot, or when table meets wall, or when rain meets roof.

2) Six rooms per primary school: one for each of the five grades, and one for a principal's and staff room.

3) An adequate size plot including a playground for each school and a boundary wall around each school, for both boys and girls schools, and for mixed as well.

4) Good quality chairs, and desks or tables for each and every student, plus an adequate teacher's desk and chair(s).

5) Expansion of the size of the standard classroom from 16' by 18' to at least 20' by 30'.

6) Provision for a fully adequate blackboard for all classrooms and the supplies to go with it.

7) Provision for enough windows of adequate size to provide minimum adequate light. Where possible, supplementation of classroom light by electricity.

8) Provision of a safe water supply.

9) Provision of a sanitary disposal system, whose minimum standards would be well designed latrines of a size fully adequate for the school population concerned.

h. Categorical Expansion of Physical Facilities for Key Primary Education Goals

1) Primary Schools for Girls

Establishing a priority for Schools for Girls, or mixed schools, both as to renovation and the improvement of existing structures and as to new construction. Rural girls are the least advantaged of all, therefore,

more progress in closing the literacy gap can be made faster by meeting the deficit in girls' education than in any other single way. Times appear to be changing; certainly enough that there appears to be a strong unmet demand for primary education for girls in a growing number of rural areas, in schools for girls or in mixed schools. The bias in favor of renovation and construction of girls schools over schools for boys should be strong and vigorously enforced. It should further extend beyond the fifth grade to middle school. Opportunity to continue to the 8th grade should be equally accorded to both girls and boys. For girls this is likely to require substantial residential housing.

2) Technical Middle Schools for Girls and Boys

3) Six Year Primary "Technical" Schools for Girls and Boys

4) Union Council Level Model Schools

i. Supervision

There is need for the development of a system of supervision that will provide the primary school teachers with professional guidance and assistance as well as be an effective defense against absenteeism. At present, except in the World Bank schools (to be discussed later), supervision in the usual professional sense is not a part of the system, there not being enough supervisors to go around, each one having from 80-250 schools to supervise. The ratio should be about 1:20 or less.

j. Administration and Management of the Primary Schools System

To deal with the need for modernizing the management of the primary school system, it is recommended that there be created in each province an Institute of Educational Planning, Administration and Management, which, with technical assistance from the National Academy of Educational Planning and Management, would undertake to offer short, medium and long term programs from the highest level of executive development to the mid-management level. Keen interest in this has been expressed by the Sind and Baluchistan Departments of Education. There is evidence that an interesting program could begin soon in Sind and could perhaps serve as a model center to which all provinces could send their officials for educational management training. Although the subject of this study is primary education, it is recommended that the Management Training proposed be made available to all relevant personnel at middle and secondary levels as well, and to all appropriate personnel in Tehsil, District, Division, Provincial and Federal offices.

k. Private Schools

A program should be initiated to support and encourage the further development of private schools in both urban and rural areas. Included in this program would be one to provide assistance to the private sector

sponsors of private schools to undertake re-privatization of schools nationalized in 1973. Though many have now been de-nationalized, they are in such deplorable condition that most private groups do not have the capital required to undertake renovation.

1. Mosque Schools

Mosque schools of the type so successfully opened in Sind and Baluchistan should continue to be opened around the country as rapidly as is consistent with the relevant quality standards noted above. The particularly relevant standards are those relating to numbers of teachers per grade, teacher preparation (though special consideration could be given to special training for Mosque school teachers), and to curriculum, texts, teaching materials, and teachers' guides. Provision should also be made to provide such Mosque schools adequate facilities for the first three grades, and to ensure without fail that classrooms are built and teachers provided for grades four and five, in time; that is, when class three is ready to become class four, and class four is ready to become class five.

This positive step of opening hundreds of mosque schools with an eye also to qualitative upgrading can be a most significant step forward in both extending enrollment and reducing the drop-out rate. In principle, such a program should make possible the fulfillment of the objective of opportunity for primary education for all children of school age, since there is at least one Mosque in every village, however rural. While many of these Mosques, especially in the rural areas, will need substantial help to provide primary education at the quality levels set, their very existence constitutes a tremendous established resource base. Good grades 1-3 can be had via this system at a fraction of the "starting-from-scratch" costs of the regular provision of schools, making the provision of good grades 4 and 5 and thus of full-fledged primary schools based on mosques schools a relatively inexpensive cost per unit. The problems experienced with mosque schools in the Punjab and NWFP should be studied further to identify how to avoid the pitfalls that have constrained the maximizing of their effectiveness thus far in those provinces.

m. The Drop-In School

The Drop-in school concept of providing renewed educational opportunity for "older" children (ages 8-12) who have lost their chance to attend school in sync with their age group should be encouraged. How to do it should be studied thoroughly and an appropriate program resulting from such study should be begun as soon as possible. Here again is an opportunity to turn off the spigot of illiterates before it is too late. It is thus of the highest priority that this "service-road" approach to luring youth back to formal education systems be pursued. The concept is in principle feasible. Youths of, say 10, can learn much faster than 5 year olds because of their maturity and experience. It should be possible to master the 5-year primary program in 2-3 years if the program design is right, making those who complete it eligible for middle school and thus back in the mainstream of educational accomplishment.

Responsibility for developing the concept has been assigned to LAMEC. It is recommended also that the Provincial Departments of Education and the Academy for Educational Planning and Management should join in the development, testing, and pilot application of the concept, and that once it becomes fully operational it should function under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Departments of Education. For those taking part in it the program represents the road back to the formal system and to continued access to higher levels of learning. For this reason it should remain as close as possible to those who operate the formal system.

n. Non-Formal Education Programs

i. The Rural Education and Development Program, (READ) is an excellent one in its concept and its objectives are supportive of the mainstream efforts to save youth from illiteracy and open the way for them back into the formal system before they are doomed by adulthood. As a pilot effort, READ has had its problems, but the support given it has not been sufficient to justify blaming its shortcomings on the concept or the design. It is recommended that READ now be given a better chance to prove its worth, and that each of its component parts be thoroughly studied with a view to devising more effective teaching guides and learning experiences. READ is an innovative project and needs further testing on those grounds. As soon as the concept proves to be effective in the experiment area, expansion of READ sites to Districts outside the Federal District should begin.

ii. The Allama Iqbal Open University program of informal education through correspondence and mass media appears to be an increasingly effective one. While it targets adults, the handicapped and the rural population in general, it also focuses on drop-outs, girls, and unemployed youth and teacher training. The Open University has the opportunity to prove, as have similar programs of "distance education" in other countries, that non-formal education methods can lead to student achievement equivalencies warranting recognition by the formal system. Thus youth may, in effect, secure their certificates of completion of the fifth grade and of middle school through the Open University program. Although AIOU uses mass media to some extent, it is moving increasingly to the electronic technologies of audio/video cassettes along with flip-charts. Also, AIOU is now laying the groundwork for a complete parallel system of distance education begining with its BFEP model and following this up with its literacy-based Integrated Functional Education Project at the primary and middle school level.

iii. Distance Education

The Open University and other similar programs throughout the country can be further strengthened and enhanced. Distance education has at least two principal uses. One has been briefly referred to: to help youth who cannot attend school study the curricula anyway via mass media and correspondence. The Open University kind of program is the only classroom or teacher many thousands of students will ever see.

Yet, that they can learn to the point of passing the 5th through 8th and higher level equivalency tests is no longer arguable. It is being proven in Pakistan already and no one in the profession is surprised since the technology has long since been proven in other countries around the world.

The second use of distance education is to impart useful potential knowledge via mass media without necessarily teaching literacy per se. No one who can speak and converse with others in his own native tongue, or in any other language, is an aural illiterate. He/she is thus "at home" in a radio program setting, both as a listener and as a participant. This applies even more so in the case of television and perhaps most of all in the case of audio and video cassettes used by monitors in community settings. Thus, distance education "students" can study numbers of practical and technical subjects, acquiring economically valuable knowledge and skills in their own language, through their own natural aural literacy gift, without having to first learn to read and write. In Pakistan this can be particularly important to adult farmers for whom modern methods are theoretically available but not actually so due to a lack of delivery systems. The usual delivery system is the printed word along with the extension agent. But there are too few extension agents and most adult farmers are illiterate. Enter, the lesson on how to farm better via distance education. Similarly, important lessons can be taught in health care and in a number of other vocational subjects.

In this connection non-governmental and private voluntary agencies have an important role to play as sponsors of non-formal education.

o. Scholarships and Stipends Program

It is recommended that the primary education reform and development program include scholarships for needy students from first grade on for attendance at schools whose quality has been improved to a standard to be determined by the Provincial Department of Education at the Tehsil level. In addition to scholarships for needy students to meet whatever the the need is that keeps them from attending school, stipends for parents are recommended to compensate them for the opportunity costs of sending their boys or girls to school. Numbers of children stay out of school because they are an economic resource working in or outside their home while schooling is not seen as having offsetting values.

Such a program should be initiated on an experimental basis and should have rigid guidelines, that is, the need for the scholarships clearly proven and the opportunity cost justification for the stipend for the parents also fully documented.

p. School Lunch Program

It is recommended that a school lunch program be carefully designed and put into operation first on an experimental basis in selected districts. Such a

program should most practically be one involving the external cooperation of one or more donors either a bilateral donor such as the U.S. or World Food Program or both.

q. Provincial Directorates of Primary Schools

In view of the importance of an integrated, cohesive, vigorous program of primary school reform and development, both quantitative and qualitative, it is recommended that there be created in each province within the Department of Education a Directorate of Primary Schools. At present, there are two Directorates within the Department: the Directorate of Schools and the Directorate of Colleges. With so heavy an emphasis on primary education impending, it is essential that there be a full-time Directorate limited to Primary Education. The Ministry of Education does not agree with this recommendation which was commended to the Assessment Team by the Provincial Departments of Education. The Ministry prefers, instead, the decentralization of authority to Divisional and District offices. The problem is recognized; the proposed solutions differ. Study might reveal that both measures are needed.

r. Freedom From Underfunding

Perhaps the most important recommendation of all, implicit in all that has been said up to now, and in fact a condition precedent to making possible the addressing of any of recommendations a. through s., is the recommendation that the Government of Pakistan substantially increase its actual funding of primary education to a level commensurate with the needs that have long been recognized. Primary education's needs have been well defined in the nation's own Five-Year Plans and Annual Development Programs for at least the past 15 years and adequate provision for meeting them has been projected in these plans' and programs' formulations. However, as pointed out earlier and elaborated upon in detail in Chapter III of Part II, actual fiscal performance on behalf of Primary Education has consistently fallen far short of the goals and targets so formulated, and thus has also fallen far short of need. Chronic fiscal malnutrition and the under-employment of an impressive professional human resources base of trained educationists has been the primary education system's unfortunate lot for so long that to continue its underfunding, most observors agree, will rapidly heighten the threat that already exists that the country's weakening primary and middle school base will further weaken and could eventually throttle its national development program.

s. Research and Experimentation

Pakistan education needs both more accurate, reliable data in the standard areas; it needs baseline data not available in any form at present; and it needs to make scientific inquiry into the root causes of its more serious problems. Some of the areas of research and experimentation most relevant to today's needs include:

- Means for promoting female attendance;
- Rural family incomes and primary school costs;
- Causes of the high drop-out rate;
- Causes of non-attendance;
- Evaluation of the mosque school experiment; and
- Studies related to the drop-in school concept, involving the experience of other countries with similar programs.

3. Prioritizing the Recommendations

It would be difficult to place in single-file rank order of priority the 18 specific recommendations made above. Once the recommendation to end underfunding, however, has been clearly placed in priority position number one, the specific recommendations can be grouped in clusters of like recommendations pertaining to a like problem or family of problems and correspondingly into courses of action to solve or alleviate these problems. These clusters can then be given an order of priority. Thus, there are seen to be eight "clusters" of recommendations. They are arranged below into three tiers of priority: Highest, Higher and High. Within each tier, the priority is equal.

Highest: The Teacher Improvement Cluster
The Schools Expansion and Physical Improvement Cluster
The Non-Formal Education Cluster

Higher: The Supervision, Planning and Management Cluster
The Curricula Improvement Cluster
The Private Schools Support Cluster

High: The Student Incentives Cluster
The Research and Experimentation Cluster

Following is a more graphic presentation of the action recommendations, their cluster groupings, and the suggested priorities.

Program Cluster	Action Recommendations	Priority
Teacher Improvement	a. Primary Teacher Training	Highest
	b. Primary Teacher Selection	Highest
	c. Primary Teacher Pay	Highest
	d. Teachers' Housing	Highest
	e. Teacher-Pupil Rates	Highest
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	Highest
Schools' Physical Expansion and Improvement	g. Buildings Facilities Standards	Highest
	h. Expansion Key School Categories	Highest
	1. Schools for Girls	Highest
	2. Technical Middle Schools	Highest
	3. 6-Year "Technical" Primary Schools	Highest
	4. Union Council Level Model Schools	Highest
	l. Mosque Schools	Highest
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	Highest
Non Formal Education	m. Drop-in Schools	Highest
	n. Non-Formal Education Programs Development	Highest
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	Highest
Supervision, Planning and Management	i. Supervision	Higher
	j. Administration and Management	Higher
	q. Directors of Primary Education	Higher
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	Higher
Curricula Improvement	f. Curricula Reform	Higher
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	Higher
Private Schools Development	k. Private Schools Development Program	Higher
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	Higher
Student Incentives	o. Scholarships and Stipends	Higher
	p. School Lunch Program	High
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	High
Research and Experimentation	s. Research and Experimentation Topics	High
	r. Adequate Funding therefor	High

4. Activating the Recommendations

Chapter VII of Part II presents "A Suggested Illustrative Action Program" suggesting how a particular, illustrative configuration of specific action projects could activate the above recommendations.

E. NATIONAL EDUCATION COUNCIL REPORT on PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

In late May of this year, the newly reactivated National Education Council presented to the Minister of Education a special report on "Primary Education Improvement: Desired Measures." This Council had been created in 1969 to advise the government on educational policies and was deeply involved in the formulation of the national educational policy promulgated in September 1972. The Council, however, has been relatively inactive for some years. It was reconstituted in early 1986 and the Report on Primary Education has been its first project. The findings and recommendations of this excellent report are impressive and persuasive, not because they are consistent with this Assessment Team's similar findings, but because their data fully support their recommendations. It is strongly recommended that the Government of Pakistan accord full weight to the observations and recommendations of its own National Education Council.